

Social Democratic Herald

VOL. 1

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1898.

NO. 17

There is One System which is the Best; It is the System which should Exist for the Greatest Good of Humanity.

"THE RICH AND POWERFUL CAN TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES!"

SO CAN THE WORKING PEOPLE—BY TAKING POSSESSION OF GOVERNMENT.

Vote for the Social Democratic Party.

You have been voting for "good men" long enough, vote for good principles this time.

A vote for the Social Democratic Party is a vote for better conditions.

Workingmen want short hours, but they vote for long hours.

Under the present system, the army of the unemployed will constantly increase; vote for a better system.

What is the use in our voting the same old ticket? The old parties don't know what is the trouble.

Every time any advance in the progress of humanity has taken place it has been brought about by a new political party.

The platform of the Social Democratic Party is all right, the policy of the party is all right. VOTE FOR IT.

Under our present system the new labor saving machine increases the unemployed, and makes misery for the working class. Under Socialism it would shorten the hours of toil and increase our wealth.

Like this insane system, don't you? You vote for it every time you vote an old party ticket. You can vote for a sane and just system by marking your ballot for the Social Democratic Party.

The United States census shows that the average wealth produced by each worker in our manufacturing establishments is \$2.204 per year. You vote to get only a small part of it. Vote to have it all by voting for the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

A very thoughtful and well-written booklet is Leonard D. Abbott's, "The Society of the Future." It shows the folly of being content with present conditions and the security which would be enjoyed by all under a system of production for use and co-operation for all, and is a strong appeal for educational work on Socialist lines.

There is plenty of proof that the claim made by those two great and wise men, McKimley and Depew, as to our great prosperity, is all true—provided you ignore all the evidence on the other side. The United States last week had more failures than in the same week last year or the year before. Last week the number was 213; in the same week a year ago, 205, and in 1896, 212. Authority: Bradstreet's.

The system that suppresses individuality is the system we now have. It is also the system that destroys the home and breaks up the family. It is also the system that divides up wealth and deprives producers of their share. It is also the system that reduces men to a dead level to the wage system. It is also the system that takes away the incentive to labor. It is a system that not only takes away the incentive, but also the opportunity to labor. It is also the system that does not respect the right of private property—because it makes propertyless the producers of property.

That's right, boys. Put yourself up for targets for the militia.

If your son joins the militia don't be surprised if he shoots you down when you go on strike. Ain't it?

The government can't help the people until the people own the government. And that's no lie!

If this is your country, please tell us how much of it you own!

Did all the people starve before the capitalists were created?

If combination is good for the rich, why is it not good for the poor?

If there were no money in the world, would people starve because they could buy nothing?

Conundrum—If ten men raise ten bushels of wheat, how much should they give the capitalists for the privilege of growing the grain?

Another—If the labor of ten men makes a machine, why shouldn't the factory owner, who bosses the job, live like a prince?

The growth of the United States has gone hand in hand with the development of the capitalist system, and the masters of the system are the masters of the government.

They say that you have "good times," or that you will have "good times." Did you ever stop to think that the so-called "good times" you have had have reduced the producers to "a rag and a bone and a hank of hair" class with only a 5 per cent. interest in the wealth of the country? You will have to get good sense before you get "good times."

Trusts get government help and they prosper; bankers get government help and they prosper; bondholders get government help and they prosper; all who set legal ownership of land above natural ownership get government help and they prosper; the owners of public franchises get government help and they prosper; all the owners of the means of production get government help and they prosper; but the people who produce the wealth of society, failing to get government help, by helping themselves to the government, do not prosper. Strike for the control of government!

"Government can't help the people," we are told. But it can and does help those who destroy the people. The Social Democratic Party says to the people, "Seize government! It is yours for the seizing; it is your right to seize it, and this you can do with your ballots." Then we will see if government controlled by the people can't be made to help all alike.

Life should be the orderly betterment of the conditions of living, but the capitalist system makes this impossible for the most useful and essential class in society.

As a result of the elections this fall the working class will reap what they sow. They will never reap prosperity, however, under a system that retains rent, interest and profit.

There is only one way under the sun for the working class to secure prosperity to themselves and their children.

That is to secure possession to themselves and their children of the means of production and distribution.

There is only one way under the constitution to make the first step toward such possession.

That is to gain control of the machinery of government and establish a true Democratic administration of industry; this the task the Social Democratic Party proposes to the workmen of America.

Wouldn't a real workingman look funny in congress?

Fashion note—It is still fashionable for workingmen who rebel to be shot down by Pinkerton thugs and kid militiamen.

It is not fashionable for men who own banks to wear overalls, but they do lots of dirty work just the same.

The style of prosperity enjoyed by the working class remains the same.

It is now the style for legislative candidates to tell the workmen how much they love them. After election they will be doing the same dirty work for capitalism as ever. This is no joke.

It is still stylish for the honest worker to have a wrinkled face and a bent back. His master looks slick and fat and dresses like a prince.

Steady jobs for workingmen are going out of fashion.

It gets more and more fashionable for machines to take the place of the workers. Don't smash the machines, boys, but smash the system that keeps you from owning them!

Hungry faces and ragged clothes do not go out of fashion.

Expensive hats are no longer worn by women who work ten hours a day, nor by the wives of wage slaves anywhere.

It is still fashionable for increasing numbers of people to hunt for employment.

It is even fashionable for some people to eat out of garbage barrels.

If labor creates capital, why don't labor own it? What has capital got to offer in trade?

If monopoly is a bad thing, why do the capitalists try so hard to get it?

"The rich and powerful can take care of themselves," said Judge Payne, and then added, "but it is to your interest to uphold law and order; you can't afford to put yourselves out of harmony with the judiciary and the government." This warning was addressed to the railway men. "The rich and powerful can take care of themselves"—with the help of government, Judge Payne. And the "rich and powerful," made both rich and powerful by the labor and the votes of workingmen, can also, with the help of government and the judiciary, take care of workingmen.

Witness the decision of Judge Hammond in regard to the striking wire workers at Cleveland. This decision in the interest of the "rich and powerful" says:

1. The striker must not interfere with, obstruct or stop any of the business of the company or its agents, servants or employees in any of its works anywhere.

2. He must not enter upon the company's grounds for the purpose of interfering therewith in any manner.

3. He must not compel or induce or attempt to compel or induce by threat, intimidation, PERSUASION, force or violence any of the employees to refuse or fail to perform their duties.

4. He must not congregate for purposes of intimidation.

5. He must not post pickets or establish a patrol.

6. He must not go, "singly or collectively," to the homes of company employees for purposes of intimidation.

7. He must not threaten in any manner the wives and families of the employees at their homes.

Yes, the "rich and powerful," aided by judges on the bench, can "take care of themselves." But the day is coming when the useful classes in society will decide to take care of themselves; they will do it in the interest of "law and order," and on that day we will learn who the real enemies of society and government are. It will be quite unnecessary to look beyond the "rich and powerful" and their legal flunkies.

Working all one's life making things and voting all one's life for somebody else to own the things, is a hard sort of life, after all. Honor bright, now. Don't you think you have voted all enough to own nothing?

In 1884 the democrats got into power; four years later, in 1888, the republicans got into power; four years later, in 1892, the democrats got into power; four years later, in 1896, the republicans got into power. And what has it all amounted to? While this political see-saw has been going on we have had Cripple Creek, and Coeur d'Alene, and Homestead, and Hazleton, and Pullman, and Pana, and Oshkosh. What a glorious thing for America and the world, if the workmen of America should get into power in 1900!

At a meeting of railway men in Chicago Judge J. Barlow Payne said: "The rich and powerful can take care of themselves." Very true; and we all know that they do it. We also know how they do it, and no judge was needed to tell us that the rich can and do "take care of themselves."

Get this well lodged in your mind: THE REAL CAUSE OF "HARD TIMES" IS PRIVATE ABSORPTION AND OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC WEALTH. The best of 'em who defend (or rather apologize for) the capitalist system have run up against that proposition only to reel back in confusion before the logic of Socialism, which is the logic of facts.

How the middle class people are struggling to maintain their position in the economic warfare! And how certainly are they falling and going down. Read the story told by George Rice, an oil refiner, for twenty years a competitor of the Standard Oil Co., now a ruined man; ruined by Rockefeller and the courts.

That 9 per cent. of a population of 70,000,000 are the owners and masters of 71 per cent. of the country's wealth, is a striking proof to give the Cubans and Filipinos of the capacity of the American people to be taken in by the real governors of the country—the capitalists.

Don't call any man a coward as long as you vote like one yourself.

Haven't you voted long enough for a system that gives you starvation?

Don't wait for justice through the old parties. It don't travel that route. Don't get scared at the howling of plutocracy. It is scared worse than you are.

Don't get discouraged. Don't whoop. Think.

Don't stay in a party that does not represent the interests of the laborer, first, last and all the time.

Funny, isn't it, that the carpenters who build the fine houses all live in huts and wear patched trousers?

And ain't it queer that the farmers raise grain by hard labor and yet go hungry? They export wool and cotton and go without overcoats in winter.

Hundreds of men who have helped build railways are walking the ties.

Laws are made to protect property and to disfranchise men.

Labor-saving machinery does not make it any easier for the laborer, it only helps capital line its nest. That's why we're kicking.

Don't forget that this world would get along somehow even if all the capitalists went out of business. See it?

The idle are rich and the industrious are poor and this is the finest country on earth—n't it?

The workers carry the idle rich round on their shoulders. And it's about time the lazy fellows were told to climb down.

Be sure you do not vote a ticket with a party that shoots down laboring men or sends men to jail without a jury trial.

Don't be a slave any longer than it takes to vote for freedom.

Remember Homestead!

Remember Cripple Creek!

Remember Coeur d'Alene!

Remember Pullman!

Remember New Bedford!

Remember last year's miners' strike!

Remember Hazleton!

Remember Oshkosh!

Remember Pana!

Have you forgotten that both Republicans and Democrats ordered your fellow workers shot down?

The millionaire robber escapes the fury of the law and the poor devil that steals a loaf of bread to satisfy his hunger goes to jail.

As long as there is private capital there will be public corruption.

The only reason the capitalist politician loves the laboring man is because the laborers are the majority and their votes are needed. Eh?

You are a queer fellow, you are. The Socialists tell you to form a party of your own and to do your voting in your own interests, and you hoot at him.

The strongest union in the world is the union of capital. The capitalists don't let parties divide them—the devil a bit!

If you are a man, why don't you act like one?

How much longer do you want to sweat for somebody else before you begin to think and act and vote for yourself?

When you put a capitalist party ticket in the ballotbox just say: "Here goes another vote for debt, dirt and the devil!"

Remember that the "fittest to survive" are the coal barons; also the railway managers who survive by robbing stockholders and wrecking roads. They are sustained by "our" government.

An honest man may starve in this free and great country. But if he will commit some crime he will be fed, clothed and warmed in some public jail or prison.

It is still fashionable for labor skinners to talk of stopping immigration; to direct attention away from the plucking game they are engaged in.

It is exploitation we want stopped, not immigration. The world is rich enough to support every soul, no matter in what countries the people gather together. All we want is to shut off the fellows who are hogging the good things of the earth. Vote for Socialism.

It will be very stylish this election for workingmen to vote for what they do not want—and get it!

Workingmen, we entreat you to do your full duty at the polls. Vote the ticket of your own class, for that class is the most worthy class. All men should work. Vote for the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY of America.

"From labor vainly seeking employment has come employment seeking labor."—Chauncey Depew.

John Coogan of Chicago, the only support of a widowed mother, unable to procure employment and without a crust of bread in the house, snatched a pocketbook from a woman on the street. To the judge, Coogan said:

"Your honor, I admit my guilt freely. I tried to get work, but failed. My mother was ill and we had NOT EVEN A CRUST OF BREAD IN THE HOUSE. I could not SEE MY MOTHER STARVE. I went out and stole. My mother's home is mortgaged and we are reduced to beggary."

The judge held him for ten days.

"We have gone from labor seeking employment to employment seeking labor."—William McKimley.

Fred Hayden of Chicago, with a wife and five children looking to him for a living, unable to find work, though diligently seeking it, went out and stole some chickens and a ham. He admitted his guilt to the judge, but said he was compelled to steal, as "his wife and five children were STARVING."

His wife pleaded earnestly for him, and the judge dismissed the case.

Referred to the "two wise men," who, while the people starve are talking for the success of a party whose policies produce beggars and protect capitalist bullies.

Our Wisconsin friends have had printed and extensively distributed an eight-page campaign pamphlet, on the front page of which is a well-executed group of the state candidates. The balance is filled with effective campaign matters, and caricatures, making it an admirable vehicle for conveying the national platform and Socialist ideas to the voters.

Unable to obtain work in one of the innumerable cases of "labor vainly seeking employment"—M. W. Meadows on a Chicago street attempted to end his life by drinking carbolic acid. He now lies in the county hospital and may die. "From labor seeking employment we have gone to employment seeking labor," said Chauncey McKimley.

The first edition of 10,000 each, Nos. 1 and 2 of "The Herald Leaflets," will be sold at the price first announced, \$1.25 per thousand. Owing to the fact that the cost of mailing them is in excess of our calculation, however, when the present editions are exhausted, the prices will be as advertised in another column in this paper. The union printers' label, which was inadvertently omitted from the first editions, will appear in subsequent numbers.

A dispatch from Oshkosh says that the attempt to arrange a sash, door and blind pool will be abandoned, for the reason that there are too many interests to be reconciled. In other words, the trust is not yet possible because the business is not sufficiently concentrated into a few hands. The dispatch says the Oshkosh manufacturers are disappointed, as a pool would "reduce the expenses of buying and selling, the goods could be put on the market at less cost to themselves, and there would thus be a profit in it for themselves without necessarily raising prices."

All such moves in the business world as this only prove the Socialistic contention that, as the various lines of business become more and more concentrated, they approach the trust stage and that the formation of trusts are not possible in business where widespread competition still exists. The only thing in the way of a sash, door and blind trust is that there are still "too many interests to be reconciled." In a year or so, when cut-throat competition will have reduced the number of competitors in this line, a pool will be more likely to succeed. That the manufacturers are disappointed at the failure of the pool is not to be wondered at. These fine fellows talk about competition being the life of trade during election times, but the rest of the year they are striving to find ways to avoid competition. Our advice to the workers in Oshkosh would be to study into such matters and to see that combination is also the only thing left for them. It is even more important for them to stand together than it is for their employers.

Social Democratic Herald.

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BY THE

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY
OF AMERICA.

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, OCT. 29, 1908.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Missouri State Ticket.

For Judge of Supreme Court, Long Term.
ALBERT E. SANDERSON, St. Louis.
For Judge of Supreme Court, Short Term.
G. A. HOEHN, St. Louis.

For Superintendent of Public Schools.
JAMES A. RENDALL, St. Louis.
For Railroad and Warehouse Commissioner.
GEORGE J. STORZ, Kansas City.

Congressional Ticket for St. Louis.

For Congress, 10th District.
CHARLES KEEFER.
For Congress, 11th District.
CHARLES F. GEBELIN.
Organizer of Amalgamated Wood Workers.

For Congress, 12th District.
L. P. TOMSEN, Financial Secretary of Central Trades and Labor Union.

St. Louis City Ticket.

For Judges of the Circuit Court.
JACOB L. FRANZ, J. C. WIBEL and JOSEPH FILLER.

For Judge Court of Criminal Correction.
ANTHONY LOY.

For Judge of Probate.
WILLIAM RUESCHE.

For Recorder of Deeds.
A. F. HAEUSSLER.

For Clerk of Circuit Court.
LEONARD STOLL.

For Clerk Court of Criminal Correction.
WILLIAM BRANDT.

For Clerk of Criminal Court.
NIC. BERLINGEN.

For Clerk of the Probate Court.
CHARLES SPECHT.

For Prosecuting Attorney for Court of Criminal Correction.
MARTIN ERD.

For Assistant Prosecuting Attorney of Criminal Correction.
W. H. SCOTT.

For Sheriff.
CHARLES F. MEIER.

For Coroner.
STANLEY D. PEET.

Wisconsin State Ticket.

For Governor.
HOWARD TUTTLE, Milwaukee.

For Lieutenant-Governor.
E. P. HASSINGER, Broadhead.

For Secretary of State.
THOS. C. P. MEYERS, Milwaukee.

For State Treasurer.
AUGUST MOHR, Sheboygan.

For Attorney General.
RICH. ELSNER, Milwaukee.

For Election Commissioner.
CHARLES RICHTER, Racine.

For Superintendent of Schools.
R. O. STOLL, Eau Claire.

For Insurance Commissioner.
E. H. ROONEY, Milwaukee.

Baltimore Congressional Ticket.

For Congress, 3d District.
CHARLES BACKMAN.

For Congress, 4th District.
WILLIAM FOX.

For Congress, 5th District.
C. E. TAILOR.

Massachusetts State Ticket.

For Governor.
WINFIELD P. PORTER, Newburyport.

For Lieutenant-Governor.
ISAAC W. SKINNER, Brockton.

For Secretary of State.
CHAS. W. BRADLEY, Haverhill.

For Treasurer.
CHAS. W. WHITE, Winchester.

For Auditor.
CHAS. L. GREEVES, Amesbury.

New York Assembly Ticket.

For Fourth Assembly District.
M. LONDON.

For Eighth Assembly District.
LOUIS E. MILLER.

For Tenth Assembly District.
J. PHILLIPS.

For Twelfth Assembly District.
J. BARONDESS.

For Sixteenth Assembly District.
R. MODEST.

New Hampshire State Ticket.

For Governor.
SUMNER F. CLAFLIN.

For Congress, 1st District.
CHAS. M. MELLEN.

For Congress, 2d District.
ED. E. SOUTHWICK.

Terre Haute, Ind., Ticket.

For Judge of Superior Court.
SAM. M. YOUNG.

For Prosecuting Attorney.
CHAS. D. WILGUS.

For Auditor.
CLARENCE E. KINGERY.

For Clerk.
CHAS. R. WALTZ.

For Recorder.
JOHN S. KINGERY.

For Coroner.
ANDREW J. MELVILLE.

For Commissioner.
SAM. R. HOAR.

For Surveyor.
M. TURTLE.

For Joint Representatives.
FRANK STORZ and JAS. O'NEAL.

For Representatives.
OTIS M. SCHROEDER and WM. C. CASEY.

REVOLUTION IN ILLINOIS

When the people, or a part of them, are able to induce or compel the government to disregard its constitution, and to carry out measures in direct opposition to the established fundamental law, they have successfully accomplished a revolution—such is now the status at Virden in Illinois.

The Constitution of the United States provides in Article IV, Section 2, paragraph 1, that the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges of citizens in the several states. For the government of the State of Illinois to prevent by force, citizens of any other state from coming into Illinois to work in the mines or otherwise, is to set aside this provision of the Constitution, and to put the government of Illinois in a revolutionary attitude towards the other states of the Union, and toward the Federal government itself.

But this is exactly what has been done by Governor Tanner. A body of armed men, striking miners, attempted, by force, to prevent colored citizens of other states from taking the jobs of the strikers. A bloody battle ensued, in which a considerable number of men were killed and wounded. Then the governor of Illinois declared that he would prevent all persons from other states from coming into Illinois to work in the mines in which the striking miners formerly worked, and sent the militia to enforce his declaration.

This is, of course, a clear violation of the rights of the citizens of other states than Illinois under the Constitution, by the constituted authorities of Illinois, and places Illinois in the position of using its military force to violate the Constitution of the United States and the rights of other states thereunder.

It is, therefore, already the duty of the Federal government, under the Constitution, to interfere to protect the rights of citizens of other states, who desire to come into Illinois to work, or for any other lawful design, and if necessary for that purpose, to send the military force of the United States to arrest and imprison the refractory state officials, and to disperse the militia.

But, of course, the Federal authorities will not do this; at least not until after the coming election. For, to do so, would alienate the votes of the miners from the candidates of the Republican party, to which all the officials, both of the state and Federal government, belong.

Therefore, the fundamental law of the land, which guarantees equal rights to all citizens to keep starving miners starving, has been, for the present, overthrown by the state authorities of Illinois, with the tacit approval of the Federal government.

Is this the proper way to treat that great work of the fathers of the Republic, the constitution of the United States, which enables the courts to declare invalid and void every statute of the Federal and state legislatures enacted to protect the poor against the exactions of greedy employers?

True it is, that the constitution was framed by men who had no possible conception of what would happen a hundred years after they completed their work, and who could not, therefore, foresee and provide any proper regulations for the conditions which exist to-day.

But is this any reason why these dead men should not, by means of the constitution which they made, continue to rule the living, or why the laws which they enacted a century ago, for conditions entirely different from those which now exist, should not be equally well adapted to present conditions? Alas, where is our veneration for these dead fathers!

How absurd is it to think that mere paper laws can withstand the resistance of the force of circumstances. Such laws become mere waste paper, when, becoming instruments of oppression, the people demand that they shall be disregarded. In such case it is not necessary to go through the form of repealing such laws. They are

simply brushed aside. This is the lesson of history.

The workers of the country have their destiny in their own hands. If they stand together in a solid body and demand that the full product of their toil be secured to them, no power can withstand them. But to permanently accomplish this, in the most effective way, they must take possession of the government, and thus obtain the political power. This they can do by means of the ballot.

And if it should be said that their ballots will not be counted, we should point to the determined men who, in this and other countries, have maintained their rights with the strong arm.

DEBS' EASTERN TRIP

During the week commencing October 23, Comrade Eugene V. Debs has filled appointments as follows in Massachusetts, Springfield, October 23; Northampton, October 24; Holyoke, October 25; Worcester, October 26; Cambridge, October 27; Boston, October 28. He is to speak in New Hampshire, and November 7th will be at Hartford, Conn. Everywhere he goes the halls are packed to the doors.

The branch at Somersworth, N. H., is very actively engaged in local work and takes in new members every week. Comrade Eugene Debs speaks there October 31.

Eugene V. Debs spoke on the 23d last, at Springfield, Mass. The old Springfield Republican, on the day following, said "the hall was well filled and many had to stand during the entire two hours of the lecture. Editorially it says:

"The address of Eugene V. Debs at Turn Hall, last evening, was the first of a series which he will deliver in this state, in the interest of the Social Democratic Party, which has a state ticket, and several nominees for the legislature, and has a reasonable expectation of electing one of them. James F. Carey, president of the common council of Haverhill, and a remarkably able man. Mr. Debs speaks this evening at Holyoke, at Northampton Tuesday evening, at Worcester Wednesday evening, and then in the eastern part of the state—for one evening in Faneuil hall. His speech at Turn hall was extremely ingenious and clever; without being in any proper sense an orator, he possesses the faculty of making his points perfectly clear and thrusting them home to the common sense perception of his hearer, so that his periods are abundantly punctuated with applause. Mr. Debs stated the economic situation with cruel definiteness and may safely challenge contradiction of his array of facts. There is undoubtedly the strength of the Socialist cause—its existing conditions. Its weakness comes in the presentation of remedies—of what nature these are to be and how they are to be applied. But such addresses as Mr. Debs made last evening are enlightening and impressive, and tend to produce the conviction that the Socialist theory and proposition must be reckoned with, and can by no means be dismissed with a sneer as visionary. There has never been a cause in the interest of the people from the day when that interest was first considered which was not visionary until men actually devoted themselves to making it practical. The democracy initiated by our forefathers in America was highly visionary; yet it cannot be regarded as a final step. Money in the hands of the few banded capitalists of corporations and trusts cannot be exalted into the supreme power."

KEIR HARDIE'S LEVEL HEAD.

The creation of a distinct Socialist party in politics may seem a slow means of attaining the end in view, but it is a safe one. The man who expects to smuggle great economic reforms through the legislatures of the states, without the enemy being aware of what is going on, has a childish faith which I envy greatly, but cannot share. However slow the work may be of building up such a party, when it has been built up it can be relied upon, and I still hold to the opinion I formed through my brief visit to your country, that there, as here, labor must learn to organize on a strictly labor basis, if the rights of labor are to be won. Those who are in earnest will not say it can't be done, but will set about doing it—Keir Hardie in The Coming Nation.

Carl S. Smith, an American lawyer practicing in Hawaii, writes to the Chicago Journal on the condition of labor in the Sandwich Islands. He says that the sugar planters have the islands by the throat; that a memorial from them to Congress asks for a continuance of the present system; that under the system laborers on the plantations are slaves and that "any fine morning you can go to the police station and on the bulletin boards see the photographs of runaway contract laborers with \$5 reward for the arrest, etc. It is like the good old days in the South. And this country is under the American flag!"

Hurrah for the thirteenth amendment!

Vote right.

AMONG THE BRANCHES.

BRANCH MEETINGS.

[Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 2c per month.]

Colorado Branch No. 1, of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Conservatory of Music, 14th and Arapahoe, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Halsey Butler, Chairman; Mrs. Marian Steele, Secretary.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening at Koch's Hall, 104 Randolph St. Frank Whitney, Rooming building, secretary.

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3 Sunday afternoon of each month, at Hechawain's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis. J. ZORN, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at 13th and Wyoming streets. Wm. Ruesche, secretary, 3338 Iowa avenue.

Branch No. 2 Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Stengel's Hall, corner Monroe and Pearl streets, every Monday evening.

Branch 1, Philadelphia, meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., City Hall, North Plaza. The branch issues a call for a general conference of Philadelphia Socialists for Friday, 8 p. m., September 30, at 223 North Twelfth Street.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays, at 614 State street. Jacob Hunger, secretary, 902 Chestnut street.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of the month at Volkman's Hall, corner of Twenty-first and Centre streets at 8 p. m. Edward Koepfer, secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets first and third Mondays at 8 o'clock sharp at 614 State street. Frederic Heath, secretary, John Doerflinger, treasurer.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Wednesday at 605 S. Third Street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. I. Gerson, secretary.

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at Thirteenth and Wyoming streets. Jno. Shepherd, 3416 Wisconsin avenue.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, secretary, 778 Twenty-fifth street.

A new branch has been organized at Two Rivers, Wis., by Comrade Fred M. Athen.

Get in your orders for Nos. 1 and 2 of "The Herald Leaflet" while the price is \$1.25 per thousand.

Comrade Jesse Cox spoke at two meetings in Milwaukee last Saturday and Sunday, making a distinctly favorable impression.

The Newburyport (Mass.) branch at its last meeting enrolled 21 new members and arranged to keep open headquarters during the campaign.

Monday night Comrades Edwards and Hoehn spoke to a fair audience at Harmonic Hall, South Milwaukee, their remarks being well received.

"The Herald Leaflet," No. 2, contains a ringing address on the S. D. P. movement by Eugene V. Debs. Until the first edition is sold, the price is \$1.25 per thousand.

At a meeting under S. D. P. auspices in the Twelfth Congressional District of New York City, thousands of people were unable to enter the hall, which was packed to the doors.

At a large and enthusiastic meeting at Brockton, Mass., Comrade Gordon sold 163 copies of his admirable pamphlet, "Hard Times," and turned the entire proceeds over to the striking shoe lasters' fund.

A new branch was organized at Springfield, Mass., as a result of Comrade Debs' visit there. The officers are: G. G. Hart, chairman; Wm. Tractman, vice-chairman; Otto Mache, secretary; W. F. Gamble, treasurer, M. T. Nihil, organizer.

The Greater New York Arbeiter-Zeitung Publishing Company, 414 E. 5th street, New York City, announces by circular the publication of a new German weekly, which will give its support to the Social Democratic Party, and appear about the middle of November. The subscription will be \$1.50 per year.

THE ALPHA AND OMEGA OF SOCIALISM IS THE TRANSMUTATION OF PRIVATE COMPETING CAPITAL INTO UNITED COLLECTIVE CAPITAL.—Dr. Albert Schaeffle, Austrian Economist and Critic of Socialism.

WHERE TRADES UNIONISTS

WILL FIND THE S. D. P.

The trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and both must cooperate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

—Social Democratic Party Platform.

WISCONSIN STATE TICKET.

For Governor,
HOWARD TUTTLE,
Milwaukee.

For Lieut.-Governor,
E. P. HASSINGER,
Broadhead.

For Secretary of State,
THOS. C. P. MEYERS,
Milwaukee.

For State Treasurer,
AUGUST MOHR,
Sheboygan.

For Attorney-General,
RICH. ELSNER,
Milwaukee.

For Election Commissioner,
CHARLES RICHTER,
Racine.

For Superintendent of Schools,
R. O. STOLL,
Eau Claire.

For Insurance Commissioner,
E. H. ROONEY,
Milwaukee.

WISCONSIN.

One of the meanest charges our party in Milwaukee had to meet in the spring campaign, was that we were receiving assistance from the Republicans. This charge was made by the Populists. It was not at all our fault that our canvass was favorable to the Republicans. In every election we are likely to draw votes from one of the sides and thus help the other, whichever it may be. The Pops knew they were uttering an untruth, but they thought the voters could be fooled. This year the Pops are fighting their old allies, the Democrats, and naturally the Republicans are doing all they can to help them. Proof is hardly needed to show that the Pops are doing this fall just what they tried to prove that we did in the spring. If they are not securing help from the Republicans, how can they explain the fact that they have opened their headquarters in Milwaukee than the Republicans themselves have? Their headquarters on Mason street takes up an entire business building. The lower floor is filled with chairs and on the second floor there is a telephone. The Republican headquarters is located in one room on the fifth floor of an office building.

Organizer Thos. Myers made a trip to Racine last week, holding a meeting in the evening and looking up the local Socialists. Racine presents a good field for propaganda.

The party in Milwaukee gave an entertainment at Friel Gemeinde Hall Sunday afternoon. Howard Tuttle candidate for governor, made a rattling speech and G. A. Hoehn of St. Louis made his first appearance before a Wisconsin audience. The entertainment netted about \$30, which will be applied to the state campaign fund.

The campaign was formally opened Monday evening at the Bohm Freiturner hall in Milwaukee, by Seymour Steelman of Chicago, and G. A. Hoehn. In spite of an equinoctial storm there was quite a fair attendance. All the other political meetings in the city were declared off for lack of attendance.

Two weeks of active campaigning in several of the principal cities of Wisconsin, including Milwaukee, Sheboygan, Manitowoc, Two Rivers and Oshkosh, it is expected will show substantial results at the polls. Comrades Hoehn and Stedman were the chief participants, and their public addresses, in German by Hoehn and English by Stedman, have been received with marked attention and evidences of approval. The Oshkosh Daily Northwestern prints the following very fair report of the meeting at that place:

"Social Democracy started in its campaign in this city at the South Side Turner Hall last evening, the speakers being Mr. Seymour Stedman of Chicago, in English and Mr. G. A. Hoehn of St. Louis, editor of The Arbeiter Zeitung and Volks Anwalt. The Social Democratic party is only about a year old and according to the speakers has nothing in common with the People's or the Democratic parties. It has a state ticket in the field but no county ticket, in Winnebago County. Howard Tuttle, of Milwaukee is the nominee of the party for governor.

HOEHN IN GERMAN.

"Mr. Hoehn was the first speaker and he addressed the audience in German. He spoke in substance, as follows: 'Fellow citizens and wage-workers:—The time has come when the working people of America must realize the fact that there is no angel in heaven and no capitalist politician on earth that will ameliorate labor's conditions and bring

about the final emancipation of the working millions from wage slavery or economic serfdom. It is only their own power, by their own strength that the working class can and will be liberated. The emancipation or liberation of the working class can only be achieved by the working class themselves.

"On July 4, 1876, the fathers of this American republic proclaimed to the nations of the world the following truth to be self-evident: That all men are born equal, that all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Under the present system of capitalist society we find that the inalienable right to life and happiness has been taken away from millions of people, that millions of honest, industrious men and women, anxious and willing to work for a living, can not find work and they and their families are condemned to starve, commit suicide, steal, rob or spend the rest of their lives in prisons, poorhouses, insane asylums or similar institutions of so-called public charity.

"The masses of wage-workers are beginning to wake up not only in this country, but in all other civilized countries on the face of the earth. The Social Democratic Party of America, which is a branch of the worldwide international labor movement, declares that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for every man, woman and child are conditional upon equal political and economic rights.

"The populist party naturally had to be a failure, because it tried to do the impossible, i. e., it attempted to unite Capitalism with Socialism, to mix fire and water. The Democratic and Republican parties are simply the two arms of capitalism and labor can no longer mix with either of them. Protective tariff and free trade, gold standard and free silver are nothing but capitalist issues that do not interest labor. Conditions will grow worse from day to day, if the wage-workers do not soon use the ballot box for their own class interests, if they do not soon organize a strong Social Democratic Party like their brothers in England, France and Germany.

"On election day every workman should vote the Social Democratic ticket. Labor is the creator of all social wealth. Labor shall and will have its inalienable rights, and neither federal troops, nor state militia, nor Pinkerton thugs, nor injunction judges, nor any Oshkosh conspiracy manufacturer can prevent the wage-workers from securing this right."

STEDMAN IN ENGLISH.

"After the speaker had closed his remarks amid considerable applause Mr. Seymour Stedman of Chicago, stepped to the platform and spoke in English. He said:—We believe that capitalism contains the elements of its own destruction and that labor will only be emancipated by the complete reconstruction of our economic system. The crisis creating international commercial disturbances have met with no explanation satisfactory to even the capitalist class. In either periods of private enterprise the want and suffering, prostitution and crime, was so insignificant that it excited little or no alarm.

"But after the great development in the means for production the necessities and luxuries for mankind we find appalling poverty and all the moral and physical deformations following in its wake. We believe in the abolition of production for profit and substituting therefor production for use only. The struggle of the two contending classes will result in the triumph of labor and co-operation. The subjection of the capitalist class will place mankind in a united and eternal brotherhood where each man and woman will receive the full product of their mental and physical exertion."

NEW HAMPSHIRE TICKET.

For Governor,

SUMNER F. CLAPLIN,
Manchester.

For Congressman—First District,

CHARLES H. MELLE,
Somersworth.

For Congressman—Second District,

ED. E. SOUTHWICK,
Nashua.

WASHINGTON.

A well-attended meeting at Seattle, Wash., gave the Social Democratic Party its initial move in that state October 17. It was called for the purpose of nominating candidates for county and legislative offices. The platform adopted—recommended by a committee consisting of L. W. Kidd, G. F. Matter and D. M. Phillips—is that of the S. D. P. The two members of the committee first named have been interested workers for the party for some time. Their report was adopted with enthusiasm.

The Clarion is the name of a new Socialist paper at Seattle, Wash., edited by L. W. Kidd. It prints the S. D. P. platform in full and both typographically and editorially is a credit to its projectors. We wish the editor long life and a wide influence.

MISSOURI STATE TICKET.

For Judge of Supreme Court, Long Term,

ALBERT E. SANDERSON,
St. Louis.

For Judge of Supreme Court, Short Term,

G. A. HOEHN,
St. Louis.

For Superintendent of Public Schools,

JAMES A. RENDALL,
St. Louis.

For Railroad Commissioner,

GEORGE J. STORZ,
Kansas City.

GOOD NEWS FROM ST. LOUIS.

The comrades of St. Louis are working hard in our grand campaign. The movement here is very active in the trades unions, and we are utilizing every opportunity to spread the light in the ranks of organized labor. The City Central Committee has decided to push organization until every precinct has an organized body of workers. On October 15 and 22, the organizer addressed Cabinetmakers' Union No. 12, and on the latter date Comrade Anna F. Smith of California delivered an address before the same union, which passed a resolution calling upon the Trades and Labor Union, the central body of organized labor here, to approve a resolution wherein it was held "that the position of the Social Democratic Party toward the trades union movement is a correct one, and should be fully appreciated by every honest union man," and wherein it "extends the hand of brotherhood and solidarity to the Social Democratic Party" and calls upon "the working people of this country not to hesitate one moment to cut loose from the old capitalist boodle parties and give their moral and financial support to the political class struggle of labor." There were 33 delegates present at the meeting of the Trade and Labor Union October 23, when the resolution was introduced and it was passed without discussion and with but one dissenting vote. Comrade Anna F. Smith addressed the meeting by request, and urged the delegates to carry on their strikes and boycotts, when these means become necessary, with vigor, but not to forget to hasten the dawn of their emancipation from the thralldom of wage slavery by adding the more powerful weapon of the independent political action of labor in the young, but stalwart Social Democratic Party. SANDERSON, Organizer.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE TICKET.

For Governor,

WINFIELD P. PORTER,
Newburyport.

For Lieut. Governor,

ISAAC W. SKINNER,
Brookton.

For Secretary of State,

CHARLES H. BRADLEY,
Haverhill.

For Treasurer,

CHARLES W. WHITE,
Winchester.

For Auditor,

CHARLES L. GREEVES,
Amesbury.

MASSACHUSETTS.

At last we have a Socialist party in Massachusetts that acts as a Socialist party should, and is thereby gaining the confidence of organized labor.

Last week Comrades Konikow and Hille, by invitation, addressed a meeting of the Brewers' Union in Roxbury on the subject of the S. D. P., and were very favorably received. The appreciation of the Union was shown in a substantial manner by its vote to purchase twenty of our ball tickets for the benefit of the campaign fund, thus putting \$10 into our treasury.

The meetings in Brockton last Monday were highly successful. Comrades Gordon and Porter addressed a large and enthusiastic meeting, besides which Comrade Gordon, who is an old favorite with the Brockton shoemakers, spoke to a crowded meeting of the striking lasters, who had refused to have any S. L. P. speakers address them. They listened attentively for an hour, and when Comrade Gordon wound up by advising them to vote the S. D. P. ticket and no other, they cheered the sentiment.

One Newburyport branch holds the pennant for rapid growth. Twelve new members were added this week, making thirty-one admitted in three weeks.

On Wednesday night, stormy and disagreeable as it was, a large audience turned out to hear Comrades Porter and Margaret Hille in Armory Hall, Amesbury. The beauty of it was that they were all earnest, intelligent men, good citizens, and all "Yankees," and they stayed till the finish. Next week Comrades Carey and Gillen of Haverhill are to be the speakers.

The Essex County comrades are putting in some splendid work. They have

made Socialism a live question in their corner of the state. Not only have they set everybody in Amesbury, Haverhill and Newburyport talking about Socialism, but they reach out and work up the surrounding towns, like Salisbury, Merrimac, Ipswich, etc. I know surely that to these devoted workers "the reward is in the doing;" yet, at the same time, we can be pardoned for hoping that they may see their labors crowned with success in the shape of a substantial vote November 8.

Comrades Porter and Gordon addressed a rousing rally in Haverhill on the 21st that gave our candidates a good "boost" towards Beacon Hill. Another candidate for representative has been nominated from Haverhill—Comrade Louis Scates, for the Third Essex district. Comrade Scates is an ex-railway employe, was on the strike committee of the recent street railway strike in Haverhill, and has the backing of the street railway men. He has been an earnest worker in the trades union movement for many years; and the boys say he has a good fighting chance to land.

Comrade Carey's path to Beacon Hill is not exactly strewn with roses—at least, if it is, there is the usual quantity of thorns thrown in. Besides the natural and expected opposition from the capitalist class, there is also the opposition of the S. L. P., showing itself in a thousand petty ways, in insinuous prevarications and unblushing misrepresentations. For example, his position on the question of building a new armory in Haverhill is being maliciously distorted with intent to injure him. The present armory had been pronounced unsanitary, and the state law required the city to provide suitable quarters for the militia on pain of a heavy fine. It was not a question of building an armory where none had been before, but of putting the existing one into a sanitary condition, or building one that would be so. Comrade Carey took the position that so long as armories exist and are to be occupied by members of the working class, they should at least be fit for human beings to remain in; that an armory is not in itself a bad thing in the present stage of civilization. Its usefulness depending on who has control of it; and that, in any event, if we wish to abolish armories, the place to do it is in the legislature where the law is enacted and not in the city council, where it can only be carried into effect. Comrade Carey, therefore, believing in sanitary quarters for workmen under all circumstances, and in changing undesirable laws rather than disobeying them where nothing is to be gained by such disobedience, voted for the appropriation. This action of his is being distorted and painted in the blackest colors as an act of treason to the working class, etc., and equaled only by his treason to the czar in New York, which, being interpreted, means his allegiance to principle rather than to party, to his constituents rather than to a party boss. And the working people of Haverhill will not be misled by these misrepresentations. James F. Carey's record speaks for itself. The eight-hour law for city laborers, which he was instrumental in having passed; his determined struggle to maintain it in the face of continued opposition, his efforts in behalf of the striking street railway men in the council as well as outside of it, his untiring zeal in the cause of better conditions for his own class for many years, are so well known and understood that he has nothing to fear in the long run from envious detractors. The voters of the Fifth Essex district will certainly rally round the man who has been tried and found faithful to their interests, and place him in a position of greater power and wider usefulness.

BOSTON.

HERRON ON THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

Before an audience that filled all available space in Willard Hall, Chicago, last Monday noon, Prof. George D. Herron of Iowa college, Grinnell, delivered an address upon Social problems. He spared no flame in scorching railway and other corporations whose capitalization, he declared, consisted largely of "watered" stock, and he ventured to remark that the majority of United States senators recently elected had been appointees, lobbyists and agents of such corporations.

DEFINES THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

Following is his speech, in part: "Broadly speaking, the Social problem is a problem of how to so organize the world that all men may be equally secure in the material means and social resources needful for a complete life. The hope of the Social reformer is to open wide the gates of opportunity, so that every creature, from the least to the greatest, may make his life a moral adventure and a joy and exhaust his possibilities in the thing he can best do. All that is good in the civilization must be for the equal use of all, in order that each man may make his life most worth while to the common life and to himself; and there must be equal freedom for each to choose the work that will best fulfill his serving capacity and individuality.

"Along with the culmination of the Social system, indeed at the very heart of it, is culminating a new kind of conscience. The responsibility of the individual for the whole human life, the responsibility of the whole for each individual, is its distinct mark and equality. The individual feels himself enslaved and oppressed in the enslavement and oppression of his brethren; he feels himself guilty of his brother's blood in every custom or necessity that makes for poverty, ignorance and defenseless toil.

"For instance, I cannot come from Iowa college to this city to speak to you of Chicago against the existing order of things without riding upon a railway system, the capitalization of which is largely watered stock. Now, watered stock is a method of high treason by which corporations forcibly tax the nation for private profit, and by which they annually extort millions from American toilers and producers. It is essentially a system of violence, spoil and robbery as would be the overrunning of the nation by Tartar hordes, laying hands on whatever they chose to take for their own. Although a large part of American industry is organized by this system of watered stocks, and we consent to it tamely and ignorantly, it is yet the worst historic form of indirect usurpation and tyranny, and it renders our national wealth in large part purely fictitious. Again, this railway system practically administers the government of the United States in all things that concern the system, and the governments of the several states of the Union. The majority of the United States senators recently elected have been its mere appointees and lobbyists and agents of other corporate properties. It took a shameless mob of railway attorneys to elect a United States senator to represent the people of the state of which I am a citizen.

THE SUGAR AND BOOK TRUSTS.

"But the railroad system is not all; indeed, it is but the beginning. If I put sugar in my coffee I support a trust which practically administered the finances of the United States for personal profit; that threw the national government into the hands of a Wall street receiver; that presented, in its relation to the United States senate, one of the most awful and unaccountable spectacles of national debauchery in political history. In a speech made in the American senate Senator John Sherman stated that this trust, upon a basis of \$9,000,000 issued \$15,000,000 of stock and \$10,000,000 of bonds and paid upon it, watered stock and all, from 6 to 12 per cent. interest every year, every dollar of which was at the cost of the people of the United States."

"Again, in order to send my children to the public school, the holy of holies in the temple of American freedom, I must buy the books ordered by a private corporation that has forcibly assumed the function of administering the free-school system of the United States as private property; that employs gangs of ruffians to go up and down these states and prepare school legislation for private profit; that apportionment and blacklists any teacher who dares to reject its publications. I can no longer clothe myself, whether in good clothes or cheap, without the likelihood that my clothes are made points school superintendents, intimates school principals, throws out of under sweat-shop conditions, in which men and women and children toil together in hot-air slave-pens fourteen to eighteen hours a day for earnings that range from \$2 to \$5 a week. If I send my students to pursue further study upon subjects to which I have introduced them I must set them to receive the benefits of endowments from the hands of a besotted philanthropy, drunken and sated with the wine of life pressed from the crushed and exhausted millions who feed the modern industrial winepress. By merely preaching the ethics of the sermon on the mount in their pulpits I have been the means of depriving able and noble men of their positions and livelihoods, because of their economic dependence upon the few rich men who control the organizations of their churches. Whatever I do, whichever way I turn, I can neither feed nor clothe my family, nor take part in public affairs as a citizen, nor speak the truth as I conceive it, without being stained with the blood of my brothers and sisters; without putting my hands into the wickedness that prostitutes every sacred national and religious function. It matters not that I ask of society only such keep as will enable me to serve with peace of mind and to the exhaustion of my possibilities; society denies me a guiltless 'keep.'

DENIAL OF THE RIGHT TO DO RIGHT.

"Not long ago a Christian merchant came to me in great anguish of spirit; he had tried, in what he considered a meager way, to organize his business in a Christian fashion; he placed himself on terms of economic and social terms with his employees, and they together tried to be honest servants of their customers, with no competing thought in their minds; but the result was the bankruptcy and ruin of several competitors and the increase of sweat-shop conditions in the goods the merchant purchased. 'If I try to pay my miners just wages,' said a mining operator to me, at the conclusion of the last coal strike, 'I will ruin them, for the combination will crush me, causing my contracts to be forfeited and preventing my coal from being shipped; I will be bankrupted, and the men who have been with me for fifteen years will be blacklisted, wageless and homeless.'

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production, for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must cooperate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution, through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class conscious fellow workers throughout the civilized world will lead to International Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.
2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.
3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and all other public utilities.
4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, iron, and all other mines; also all oil and gas wells.
5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.
6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.
9. National insurance of working people against accidents and lack of employment and pensions in old age.
10. Equal civil and political rights for women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.
11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.
12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned, and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

The Social Democratic Party of America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end. In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state, directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.
2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.
3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be so united that every post and railroad station shall be also a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.
4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.
5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

AROUSE, YE SLAVES!

Ringling Words for American Citizens from an Address by Eugene V. Debs, of the Social Democratic Party of America.



There are two social and economic systems which have been conflicting since the morning stars sang together and the sons of God shouted forth their joy. Under one system the few have enjoyed the fruits of the earth and the masses have been doomed to serve as beasts of burden. The beneficiaries of this system believe, for the most part, and honestly, that a system under which the few rule and the masses toil and submit to their masters in silence is on the whole a good system. It is a system, however, which has filled the world with unspeakable woe, and it is needless to say that it is under this system we now live. There is another system under which there is no favored class, no special privileges, where the earth and the fullness thereof becomes the heritage of the common people. (Applause.)

Under this system economic freedom will be established and the brotherhood of man will be inaugurated. The most ardent supporters of the present system are bound to admit that it is a disastrous failure.

On the one hand it has produced thousands of millionaires and upon the other its millions of mendicants, and this process is in operation during all the circling hours of the day, the week, the month and the year.

There are those who believe, and I am among them, that the time has come to supplant this system with the co-operative system under which men shall work together for the common uplifting of our common humanity. (Cheers.)

I am not unmindful of the fact that there are a great many excellent people who look upon every agitator as a dangerous man. It is a fact that it has always been unpopular to attack the existing order of things, but thank God in every age there have been men who had the courage of their convictions, men who have been true to themselves, men who stood erect and braved all the storms of persecution, and were it not for those men we would never have emerged from savagery and barbarism. (Applause.)

This world has always crucified its saviors and crowned its satans. (Cries of "That's right.") It has always been so in the past and may always be so in the future.

There are a great many men who cannot possibly conceive of a man engaging in a work unless he has some personal, selfish motive to gratify. They cannot rise above themselves. They estimate others by their own standard, and he who attacks the system under which we live and the beneficiaries of crimes perpetrated upon others becomes in their eyes perfectly infamous. A little while ago the term "Socialism" was exceedingly offensive to our people. There was deep-seated hostility against it on the part of those that had no rational conception of the meaning of the term.

Socialism is the direct opposite of competition.

We are now living under the competitive system, a system that puts a premium not upon men who are good and virtuous, but upon men who are cunning, shrewd and unscrupulous, men who use their brain power for the oppression and plunder of their fellow beings.

Under the competitive system the best men go into bankruptcy, the men who are scrupulous and honest and conscientious in modern commercialism fail, and they are failing, my friends, at the rate of about forty-five a day.

In proportion as millionaires and mendicants increase and multiply suicides and murders increase, and they have increased threefold since the year 1890. Only the other day Barney Barnato, one of the richest men in the world, a product of the competitive commercial system, committed suicide.

At one end of this system is produced insanity and suicide; at the other starvation and crime. (Cries of "That's right.") At one end multimillionaires, at the other mendicants and paupers. Both, as I have said, are the abnormal product of an abnormal civilization.

I make no attack upon the rich man. I do not deal with individuals. I realize that to a very large extent he is the product of his surroundings. Some men naturally become rich. The capacity for acquiring money is inherent in them; others naturally remain poor.

In this man strife for the accumulation of money it sometimes seems to me the heart has been eaten out of our civilization. Men have no other object in life except material success.

Fall in business and your life is a failure. That is the way the world looks at it. The chief aim is to become wealthy, and in these days we are not very particular as to the means we employ in accumulating our wealth.

The man who has money is the master of the world, and in his presence the people debase themselves. The concentration of money in a few has developed the money power in this country, and this money power now dominates every department of our government. Even our supreme court has been tainted and polluted by its influence.

It is the power of money that rules the country. They who have it are the rulers of the country.

The wealth of the country is concentrated in the hands of the few, and the few dictate the destinies of the republic.

In order to bring about these changes an organization known as the Social Democratic Party of America has been launched. Through this organization we propose to appeal to the intelligence and to the patriotism of the common people. It is an organization designed to rescue this republic from the chosen few who have despoiled it and restore it to the common people. This organization proposes to supplant the present commercial competitive system.

A little while ago a prominent paper in discussing this matter said that the competitive system was the only rational system, and a little further along it added the supreme court had attacked this system by rendering a decision against the pooling bill allowing railroads to pool their interests and fix rates. This paper charged that supreme court had aimed at the most fundamental and vital necessities of trade. It declared that the railroads could not exist under the present system of cut-throat competition. Of course not.

Neither can the workmen exist under cut-throat competition. "By their fruits ye shall know them." We have before us the fruits of the competitive system. There are more than 5,000,000 of American workers who are looking for work and are unable to obtain it.

But people say, "Wait until the tariff bill has been passed." (Applause and laughter.) That will solve all our evils and prosperity will return to the people. How foolish and absurd! Others say you must solve the currency question. They insist there is no real difficulty in this country and there ought to be no agitation. As for Socialism, they say it is well enough for Germany and Italy, those king-cursed countries, but that it has no place in the land of the free and the home of the brave, where the poor man has the same chance as any other man and where the poor man's boy may become the president of the United States. But let me tell you that there are 5,000,000 people in this country who would be willing to swap their chances for the presidency for a good square meal.

I know there are those who say this is a good system. It may be a good system for its beneficiaries, but it is not a good system for the people at large. Nor is it in any proper sense a good system for its beneficiaries, for if a man were perfectly civilized he would seem to be the downfall of his brother and his brother's family.

I admire, I respect, I love a superior man, who uses his superiority for the uplifting of his less fortunate fellow men—(applause)—but I despise a man who makes it the means of his own selfish aggrandizement. A great many people say that men are classified and graded by nature, and that they are separated as widely as the poles. Men and women are separated because they do not have equal opportunities. If men and women enjoyed economic freedom, if they had equal opportunities, this would be a different world—it would be a veritable paradise.

There is many a poet in the coal mines, and many an artist is doing hard labor because he has not had a fair start in life. The difference between men is not a natural one. It is due to the fact that a few people have monopolized the earth and the fullness thereof. It is due to the fact that people have been denied their best rights and the opportunity to develop their higher faculties.

I believe there is good in every human heart. I believe that people are naturally good, but they can be perverted under the present industrial system. Greed is the dominating motive. Every man for himself and every man against every other man not working in his interests.

You have got to knock down your fellow man under our system in self-defense. It is a fight for self-preservation, and in the fight the honest, conscientious and scrupulous man goes down. There is no longer anything like conscience in our commercial system. Absolute honesty is impossible. I know it from observation and experience. Everything is fair in business and business is war.

The Social Democratic Party proposes that there shall be one capitalist in the country, and that that capitalist shall be the collective people. Then there shall be employment for every man in the republic; then there will be a reduction in the hours of labor proportionate with the improvements

in the mechanic arts. This will settle the hour-day question.

To-day there are millions of people in this country who are without work and other millions who are working from ten to fourteen hours a day for a bare subsistence.

Professor Hertzka of the University of Vienna estimates that the working population of Austria over 16 and under 50 years of age could, under a condition of Socialism, produce the necessities and comforts of the kingdom at the rate of one hour and twenty minutes work per day. Our machinery is idle seven months in the year, and one-third of our working population is looking for work. Fifty years ago these things were unheard of. Then tools were simple and every man could own the means of production. Now the primitive implements of industry have been superseded by costly and ponderous machines which only corporations or a combination of corporations can afford to purchase.

The Social Democratic Party proposes that this machinery which is doing the work of the country shall become the property of the people.

The machinery that was designed to bless the world is, under its present management, the curse of the country.

The machine displaces labor, the machine starves labor. These conditions are due to the fact that we have not changed our systems of production and distribution. Think of it, there are 20,000,000 of people on the verge of starvation in this country. This statement will be contradicted, but it is a haggard fact. Miners in Ohio and Pennsylvania have been working for 42 cents a day. There was not a tramp in this country thirty-five years ago. To-day those who work the longest and the hardest get the least and those who work the least get the most.

A little while ago eight men sat at table in George Vanderbilt's Carolina residence representing \$350,000,000, yet not one of them ever produced a dollar or its equivalent.

Fifty years ago a workman could support his family decently and educate his children. A little later the wife was compelled to go to work, and now the children are forced to contribute to the support of the family. During a visit to Sheboygan I learned that a cane factory in that city was employing little children 8 and 9 years of age for 9 cents a week. To my mind this is barbarous in a free country.

While in the McHenry country jail one of my fellow prisoners told me he had been sent up for twelve months for stealing a \$2 cloak, which he gave to his wife, who was perishing with the winter's cold.

It is only the poor that are punished for wrongs which their rich brethren escape. The great criminals go scot-free, but the poor and unfortunate, those who constitute the submerged tenth, they are entitled to no consideration when they are out of work.

What avails it if a man be a political freeman and an industrial serf, enslaved by his material wants and by his economic necessities? He is compelled to work for the wages offered him by his master. He has the alternative of starving or accepting the wages offered him.

He has the choice between slavery and starvation, and there are many who prefer slavery to starvation because they have families depending upon them for support. The obligation to take care of their loved ones becomes the occasion for their slavery and degradation.

I am not a pessimist. I believe there is a future for this country, but I have often marveled at the great patience of the American people and have wondered that this country has not been thrown into revolution long ago. The new movement may be retarded, but it is sure to win success. This industrial question is up and will be settled in accordance with the eternal principles that make for justice and the solidarity of mankind.

RUINED BY ROCKEFELLER.

Mr. George Rice of Marietta, Ohio, was one of the witnesses in the recent investigation of the Standard oil trust. He complains because he was "ruined by Rockefeller." That is, being one of the losers in a system where some, usually the most deserving, must lose, he feels that he is the victim of injustice and is angry at the winner, who usually has no scruples as to the methods of his success. Mr. Rice has yet to learn that his ruin and the ruin of men like him, is inevitable. What he has to say of the Standard people, however, is interesting and ought to open the eyes of every man who, in these jubilee days, thinks he is living in a country where there is opportunity for each of us to do business on his own initiative. Mr. Rice says:

"I have been an oil producer for thirty years and a refiner for twenty years, but I shut down my refinery two years ago because it was utterly impossible to do business without loss. The works and all the employees have been idle ever since and all my income has gone to wreck and ruin."

"Most of the railroad companies are acting in collusion with the Standard Oil Company. This is proved by Poor's Railway Directory, that shows Standard Oil managers to be directors in one-fifth the total mileage of this country. The trunk lines without exception are under the domination of the gigantic trust. Now, I was

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"When I sent a trainload of oil to market I found that the railroad charged me three or four times the rate charged the Standard Oil people and gave the excess paid by me to them. I made the appalling discovery that in shipping crude oil from Macksburg, where my wells are, to Marietta (twenty-five miles) I was forced to pay 35 cents a barrel and the Standard Oil only 10 cents.

"But that's not the worst, incredible as it seems, for the Standard Oil Company received my 25 cents excess as a bonus. The railroad, therefore, carried Standard Oil for nothing and paid 15 cents per barrel for doing so."

"But where did the railroad come in?" was the next inquiry.

"It did not make a dollar, of course; but the directors were Standard Oil stockholders, and they were willing to bankrupt the road to put money in the treasury of the Standard. That is why so many of the roads running through the oil country are hopelessly non-dividend payers.

"I have fought the trust openly and stubbornly. I have been before the Interstate Commerce Commissioners and several legislative inquiries, but nothing has come of it. I hope for results from the present investigation, but it is along new lines."

"Did the Standard people ever offer to buy you out?"

"O, yes. They made me an offer of about one-twentieth the value of my plant—made it with threats that I must take that or be driven to the wall. An acceptance meant ruin to me, and I made the fight."

"I am defeated just at present. But I cannot believe that the people of this nation are going to allow the gigantic corporation to own everything in the country. It will get the New York Central away from the Vanderbilts before ten years more. It already dominates the Pennsylvania and the Erie has been its slave since the days of the old South Improvement company in 1872."

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Although serfdom is generally believed to have been abolished in Austria, it still exists in certain parts of Hungary, where the aristocratic landowners have retained to such a degree possession of their old-time feudal rights over the peasantry that many are accustomed to use their peasants as beasts of burden, harnessing four men to a plough instead of horses or oxen.

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